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abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[2]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

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Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quesempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quesempts does not speak English: her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[2] G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

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very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

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River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax, the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determining tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

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Lewis and Clark name	*Phonetic transcription*	*English equivalent*	*Location in 1805–1806*
Wah-how-pum[12]	xwa'ɬxwaipam[14]	Klikitat	North of the Columbia from Klikitat R. to Alderdale
You-ma-tol-am[13]	i'matɬam	Umatilla	Umatilla River
Wal-low-wal-low[16]	wɬa'wala	Walla Walla	Both sides Columbia from mouth of Snake to near mouth of Umatilla
Y-e-let-po[18]	wayi'ɬtpu	Cayuse	Asotin [We-are-cum[17]] R. (between Snake and Grande Ronde)
Pish-quit-pah[18]	pɯc(ukalai)kitpa	Cayuse[19]	North bank of Columbia from Alderdale to mouth of Umatilla
Pal-lace[20]	palu'c, palu's	Palus	Palouse R. (Drewyers R.)
Wa-ner-po[21]	wa'napam	Wanapam	Priests Rapids-White Bluffs region
Tapteet, Tapteel[22]	ta·'ptat[23]	Yakima	Yakima River
Shan-wap-pom[24]	pcwa'nwapam	Kittitas	Headwaters of the Klikitat and Yakima R.
Wah-na-a-chee[25]	wana'itci	Wenatchi	Wenatchee River
Parps-pal-low[26]	pa·'a'pspa'lu	Southern Okanogan[27]	Lower Okanogan Valley
Hi-hi-e-nimo[28]	xayɛ·'nimu	Spokane	Spokane River
Wheel-po[28]	sxoie'ɬp[29]	Colville	Kettle Falls
Coos-pel-lar[30]	ku·'spa'lu	Kalispel	East of Okanogan R. near Canadian boundary
Skeet-so-mish[28]	tski·'sumɯx	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene Lake

[12] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 321; Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 32.

[14] Spier identifies Wahowpam with Wayampam (Tenmo) rather than with Klikitat (Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 151–300, 1930, p. 169). This may be correct. However, Melville Jacobs feels that Sahaptin phonetics favor the alternate interpretation (personal conversation). The territory ascribed to the Wahowpam has more recently been held in part by the Klikitat, in part by the Tenino. Both are Sahaptin speaking; cultural differences are slight.

[13] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[16] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 31.

[17] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 44.

[18] *Idem*, Atlas, maps 31, 32.

[19] The identification of Pish-quit-pah with the Cayuse term pɯc(ukalai)kitpa is problematical. The latter is the name of a large Cayuse village recently located near Milton, Oregon. This is east of the Pish-quit-pah territory. The Cayuse term refers to a stream passing

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The Nez Percé are designated by the name Chopunnish but the term is applied to several other Sahaptin groups as well, such as the Cayuse and Palus. Excluding the latter, the Nez Percé boundaries coincide almost exactly with the earliet distribution noted above.[31]

Shoshonean tribes are described as residing

on the S. fork of Lewis's [Snake] river and on the Nemo [Weiser], Walshlemo [Powder], Shallett [Payette], Shushpellanimmo [South Fork, Payette], Shecomskink [Malheur], Timmooennumlarwas [Sucker], and the Cop cop pahark [Boise] river branches of the South fork of Lewises river.[32] [Also] in Spring and Summer on the East fork of Lewis's river [Clearwater] a branch of the Columbia, and winter and fall on the Missouri.[33]

A further statement is less credible since it would bring the Shoshoneans north of the Blue Mountains:

Sho-Sho-ne (or Snake indians) residing in Winter and fall on the Multnomah

between high cliffs and may have been applied independently to a region on the Columbia. In any event, the name is definitely Sahaptin and any identification with the Salishan Pishquow (npakwa'us, Wenatchi) as by Thwaites (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 137) is certainly erroneous. Furthermore, Clark notes that these people "do not speak prosisely the same language of those above but understand them" (*ibid.*). Phonetic and geographical considerations discredit Mooney's derivation of Pish-quit-pah from the Yakima village name pa'sko (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 739; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Much more probably this was a branch of the Cayuse or Umatilla.

[30] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[31] *Idem*, map 40.

[32] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 289; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41.

[33] Ray, *loc. cit.* A large Yakima village at Prosser.

[34] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 40.

[35] *Idem*, Vol. 3, opp. p. 118; Vol. 6. p. 119. This is a Sahaptin term appearing only as a river name in Lewis and Clark but used as the exclusive tribal name today. The explorers use the unidentified tribal name Cuts-ah-nim (probably Salishan).

[36] *Idem*, atlas, map 40.

[37] The native term means "people of the fir tree country," but is applied rather specifically by the Umatilla to the Salish near the mouth of the Okanogan River.

[38] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 43.

[39] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[40] The location by Lewis and Clark is confused and uncertain; see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119, and Atlas, map 43.

[41] *Idem*, Vol. 6, pp. 114–19; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41, 44. These boundaries likewise agree well with those given by Spinden (*loc. cit.*). Spinden gives no time reference for his descriptions. With regard to the southern boundary the agreement is real only if Spinden is describing conditions in the eighteenth or very early nineteenth centuries.

[42] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

[43] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 114.

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river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[34]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[35] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[36] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[34] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [35] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [36] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

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route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the NeKETEme'uX formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikátimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

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[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

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Teit writes of a Salish group called Tia'kxtux or Stia'kxtxmux being carried by the assumed migrations to the mouth of the Yakima River.[46] Umatilla, Kittitas, and Wenatchi informants independently interpreted these terms in the same way. Sahaptin forms are stiaxa' (Umatilla) and stiala'ma (Kittitas); the reference is to a semi-mythical people "from the north, who appear at night in heavy fur clothing and steal things, then disappear before daylight." All denied that the terms designated a tribe. 131* 175

In this connection Teit states that

> The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchxn or .nia'qxtcxn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along the Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. . . . This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812.[47]

Rather, Akai-chie seems to be a'kaitci, "people who eat salmon," a Bannock word used for Sahaptins, specifically the Tenino, but perhaps also others in the salmon area.

A part of the Columbia River assigned by Teit to the Salish is the Priest Rapids-White Bluffs regions, now occupied by the Wanapam. Of all Sahaptin groups this is today the most conservative. The survivors occupy the ancient village at Priest Rapids, having stubbornly refused to go upon a reservation. They contend that this has always been the home of their people and that it always shall be.

But the Umatilla are scarcely less emphatic in denying that a Salish tribe ever held the Umatilla Valley, either jointly or exclusively. Teit contends that the valley was occupied by the ·nkee'us;[48] Berreman gives the southern Umatilla territory to the Cayuse.[49]

Fortunately the documentary evidence from Lewis and Clark bears directly upon these problems and proves conclusive in many instances. At every such point the contentions of the natives are supported. The explorers were present in the years 1805–1806. These were critical years, for Teit states that, "The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of last century, probably 1800–1830."[50] Berreman agrees: "This was the high water mark of Snake invasions, and appears to have been reached sometime between 1800 and 1820."[51] Thus the voluminous records of the explorers should contain manifold references to such movements, had they existed. But actually, not one unequivocal statement of such nature is to be found. The statement most often quoted reads: "No Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for 131* 175 721

[46] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 102 *f.*
[47] *Idem*, pp. 94, 102 *f.*
[48] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[49] *Idem*, p. 94.
[50] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[51] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[83]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[84]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[85] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[83] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[84] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[85] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

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ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

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POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

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Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . . "

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.